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LATIN DIMINUTION OF ADJECTIVES

By WALTER PETERSEN

I. DIMINUTIVES OF QUALITY AND DIMINUTIVES BY ENALLAGE

1. When we find that suffixes which form diminutives of nouns are often also used to form adjectival 'diminutives,' when we e.g. find Skr. *-ka-* both in *putraká-s* 'little son' and *babhruká-s* 'brownish': *babhrú-s* 'brown,' Gr. *-υλο-* both in *ἀρκτύλο-s* 'young bear' and *μικκύλο-s* ('diminutive' of *μικκός* 'small'), Lat. *-lo-* in *servolu-s* 'little servant' and *parvolu-s* ('diminutive' of *parvo-s* 'small'), or Lith. *-ulis* in *tėtulis* 'Väterchen' and *baltulis* ('diminutive' of *báltas* 'white'), it is natural to search for some common element of meaning which will allow us to fix upon the essence of a 'diminutive' apart from any reference to the parts of speech affected. In this way rose e.g. the definition of Grimm *Deutsch. Gram.* 3, p. 637: "Demination oder Verkleinerung findet statt, wenn durch eine in dem Wort selbst vorgehende Veränderung dem Begriff an seiner Kraft etwas benommen wird." Like all 'Grundbegriffe' gained by abstraction, this notion of 'taking away something of the force of a word' as the essence of a diminutive does not give us the slightest idea of the real relation of 'diminutive' meanings, and in the second place, it is even a false abstraction. It will not even apply to substantives; for when e.g. Gr. *παιδίον* 'a little child' refers, not to a particularly small child, but contrasts children in general with adults, the meaning of the primitive *παῖς* is strengthened rather than weakened by the diminution, and similarly most deterioratives and hypocoristic words do not imply a weakening of the essential force of the primitives. As far as the diminutive substantives are concerned, however, Grimm's conception has done no harm, since it has not affected the judgment of scholars as to the actual use of diminutives. For the adjectives, on the other hand, this view has led to persistent misinterpretations of many words in order to bring their meaning into harmony with the conception that an adjectival diminutive, since it must take away something from the force of its primitive, necessarily designates an approximation to the meaning of its primitive adjective.¹

¹ Cf. sec. 43.

2. The fact is, under the category 'adjectival diminutives' are comprised two semantically and historically distinct classes, which are not ordinarily felt as standing in the slightest relation to each other, and which are only exceptionally found side by side ending in the same suffix. On the one hand, there certainly are cases where adjectives denoting an approximation of the condition designated by the primitive are formed by diminutive suffixes. Aside from Skr. *-ka-*, e.g. in the above-mentioned *babhruká-s* 'brownish,' this is true for Lat. *-lo-*, e.g. in *nigellus* 'blackish, somewhat black,' and *-culo-*, e.g. in *grandiculus* 'somewhat large.' Otherwise¹ adjectives of this kind are rather formed by non-diminutive suffixes. Thus Germ. *-lich* forms *ältlich* 'somewhat old,' *länglich* 'somewhat long,' *weisslich* 'whitish,' and many others; Engl. *-ish* forms *thickish*, *sweetish*, *reddish*, etc.; with the Lith. suffix *-sva-* are found color terms like *balsvas* 'whitish,' *gelšvas* 'yellowish,' and *raušvas* 'reddish.' All of these are neither felt as nor designated as diminutives in the grammars, nor is there the slightest tendency to extend these suffixes to other 'diminutive' uses. This shows that the bond of connection between these and the substantival diminutives as expressed by Grimm's definition is merely a logical one, and corresponds to nothing in the psychic attitude of the speaker. The origin of this use of the Germanic adjectives is clear enough. Both Germ. *-lich* and Engl. *-ish* (I.E. *-isko-*) designated similarity, and *reddish* and Germ. *rötlich* originally meant 'somewhat like red, but not really red.' Since Skr. *-ka-* I.E. *-ko-* was also a suffix of similarity, words like *babhruká-s* 'brownish' arose in the same way. But this same idea of similarity in nouns could develop, and in case of I.E. *-ko-* did develop, into the notion of smallness, contempt, and the like,² and thus is explained the coexistence of adjectives in Skr. *-ka-* designating an approximation of quality and true diminutive substantives in the same suffix. What the cause of this coexistence is for Lat. *-lo-* will be seen later.

3. Opposed to the preceding group of adjectival 'diminutives,' which we may call diminutives of quality, is another class which

¹ Latin *-aster*, for which cf. F. Seck *ALL* 1. 390 ff.; Stolz *Hist. Gram.* 543 ff.; Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1². 195 note, e.g. in *claudaster* 'somewhat lame' or *fulvaster* 'brownish,' is called a diminutive suffix by Priscian; but it hardly forms true diminutives, only adjectives of the kind mentioned, and deterioratives. Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 677, 685.

² Cf. Brugmann *op. cit.* 2. 1². 503 f.

largely arose by enallage, i.e. a substantival diminutive suffix, expressing chiefly the notions of small size, endearment, and contempt, could be added to an adjective instead of or in addition to the substantive modified by it, to which the 'diminutive' notion logically belonged, in much the same way as substantives sometimes receive a 'diminutive' suffix which really belongs to another substantive when the 'diminutive' meaning as it were pervades a whole phrase or passage.² This transfer to adjectives could, of course, take place only when, as in case of I.E. *-ko-* and *-lo-*, the same suffix was found in adjectives of some kind as well as substantives before the enallage took place. This use of adjectival 'diminutives' was, however, at least helped, if not actually started, by the diminutives of substantivized adjectives, which, though exactly like real substantive diminutives as to motive of formation, could be secondarily connected with the strictly adjectival use of the same words. Such a transition is suggested e.g. by the Lithuanian *Oj! tu, bernėli, tu jaunutėli* (Liëtùviszkos dájnos užrašýtos par Antaną Juškevičę 3. 4), literally 'Oh! you (my) lover, you (my) young one.' In the Latin the occurrence of diminutives of substantivized adjectives, e.g. *vetulus*, *vetula*, *Graeculus*, no doubt also helped in establishing the same words as adjectival diminutives. This is best seen from the predicate use of such words, in which case we cannot be sure whether the diminutive is felt as substantive or adjective, so e.g. *sumus pauperculi* (Plaut. *Poen.* 3. 1. 33), either 'we are poor' or 'we are poor ones.' Still another factor which assisted in the creation of adjectival diminutives was the fact that the emotions of contempt and endearment are often felt for an object or person because of certain qualities which might be designated by the adjective, and this virtually amounts to feeling contempt or endearment for the quality itself, so that it was natural to attach the deteriorative and hypocoristic

¹ So e.g. *libello paucillulo* (sec. 18), *sicilicula argenteola* (sec. 25), *aureola oratiuncula* and *regillam induculam* (sec. 31), *turgiduli ocelli* (sec. 32), *mulierculam exornatulam* (sec. 34), *molliculus adulescentulus* (sec. 40), *servulorum sordidulorum* (sec. 42). In these and many other instances we may admit that the delight in the repetition of similar sounds was a factor in the use of the repeated diminutive without therefore denying any semantic distinction between diminutive and primitive adjective, and maintaining that assonance, meter, etc., were the only reasons for using the diminutive adjective. This error of Platner *A.J. of Ph.* 16. 202 was justly combated by P. de Labriolle *Rev. de Phil.* 29. 277 ff.

² Cf. Skutsch *ALL* 15. 37 f.; Petersen *Gr. Dim. in -ior* 179 f.

suffixes to the adjectives. Examples of this would be Skr. *bhinnaka-s*: *bhinná-s* 'broken' as a deteriorative, or Lat. *tenellu-s*: *tener* 'tender' among hypocoristic words. Among real diminutives, i.e. those referring to small size, the adjectives of quantity or size were most naturally formed, and diminution would apply to them just as well as to the noun modified. Thus Gr. *-ichos* is found in the two adjectival diminutives: *ὄσσιχος* 'how little': *ὄσ(σ)ος* 'how large' and *τόσσιχος* 'so little': *τόσ(σ)ος* 'so large.' Similarly in Latin no doubt *tantulus* and *quantulus* were among the earliest adjectival diminutives.

4. To this second class of adjectival 'diminutives,' i.e. to those in which the 'diminutive' notion belongs to the modified substantive, are to be ascribed by far the larger number of Skr. diminutive *-ka-* adjectives. Cf. e.g. the diminutive-deteriorative *arbhaká-s*: *árbha-s* 'small, weak' in *RV.* 7. 33. 6 *bharatā arbhakāsaḥ* 'wretchedly weak Bharatas'; or the hypocoristic *parivardhitaka-s*: *parivardhita-s* 'nourished' in *Çakuntala* p. 86. l. 13 (Pischel) *çyāmaka-muṣṭi-parivardhatako mṛgaḥ* 'a deer (tenderly) nourished with a handful of millet.' It seems that all of the I.E. adjectival *-lo-* diminutives also belonged here; for 'diminutives of quality' are probable only for the Latin, and the origin of that use will be discussed below. As to other languages in which adjectival *-lo-* diminutives are said to occur, the Skr. words like *bahulá-s*¹ = *bahú-ṣ* 'much, many' must be ruled out as evidence because, as Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 12. 377 remarks, the assumption that these words are 'diminutives' at all is based on the occurrence of such 'diminutives' in other languages, while the Skr. adjectives themselves show no sign of any 'diminutive' meaning. Since there is a difference of opinion as to Gr. *-υλο-*, it will be well to examine those diminutives which are derived from actually existing adjectives. Most clear is *μικκύλος*: *μικκός* 'small' in Moschus 2. 13 *Μικκύλα μὲν τήνῳ τὰ χερύδρια, μακρὰ δὲ βάλλει*. The contrast between 'small' and 'large' shows that *μικκύλος* is not 'rather small,' but that the adjective is diminutive because it modifies *χερύδρια* 'little hands.' The prevalence of references to the small size of Eros Drapetes, the subject of the poem, should make us interpret *δριμύλος* in l. 8 *ὄμματα δ' αὐτῷ Δριμύλα καὶ φλογέοντα* not as 'somewhat piercing'

¹ Even if this word should have originally meant 'rather much' it would not invalidate our conclusions reached below, since, like Gr. *παχυλός*, it belongs to the category discussed in secs. 21 ff.

(cf. Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1². 377); Eros rather had 'piercing little eyes.' In Plato *Com. frg.* 2. 644 the contrast between *καθαρύλλος*, diminutive of *καθαρός*, and *μέγας* 'large' shows that we are to translate *ἦκεν ἄρτους πριάμενος Μῆ τῶν καθαρύλλων ἀλλὰ μεγάλους Κιλίκιου* as 'he came having brought loaves not of the *neat little* (kind), but large ones of Cilicius.' As to *ἡδύλος* : *ἡδύς* 'sweet,' if it really did occur as adjective,¹ it no doubt received its suffix in order to emphasize its hypocoristic meaning, but was not 'sweetish.' There is left *παχυλός* : *παχύς*, sometimes rendered as 'thickish,' but even if correct that meaning is very easily explained as an offshoot of the notion of small size in words of this kind. See secs. 21 f. We may, then, say that there is no positive evidence that Gr. *-υλο-* ever formed any 'diminutives of quality,' and the same is true of the Lith. *-ulis*. Above was mentioned *jaunulėlis*: *jáunas* 'young,' certainly because of endearment for the young person addressed, while *mažiulėlis*: *māžas* 'small' was like Gr. *μικκύλος*. The adverb *vėnulei* 'obiter' was originally something like 'this one little time,' and to attempt to bring in the notion 'somewhat' would lead to an absurdity. The color term *baltulis*, like the Lat. *candidulus*, is hypocoristic, while the equivalent of Engl. *whitish* is *balsvas*. Finally, *didžulis*: *didis* 'large' is like Lat. *grandiculus* (sec. 23) and perhaps like Gr. *παχυλός*.

5. Since Latin, then, is the only language which shows diminutives of quality in *-lo-* besides the unquestionably already I.E. use of the suffix in adjectives by enallage, the question to be determined is whether the former also go back to I.E. times, and the usage was lost in the other languages, or whether the Latin derived it from the second class, and if so, how. And the answer to this question in turn involves an understanding of the nature of the I.E. *-lo-* diminutives as opposed to those in *-ko-*, as well as the relation of the different Latin adjectival diminutive suffixes to each other and to the I.E. suffixes.

II. THE RELATION OF LAT. *-lo-* AND *-culo-* TO I.E. *-ko-* AND *-lo-*

6. That I.E. diminutive *-ko-* was developed from the use of the suffix meaning 'belonging to the category of, being like' is quite

¹ This adjective is assumed on the basis of the proper name *Ἡδύλος*, which, however, is evidently a "Kosename" of compound names like *Ἡδύ-χάρης*; cf. Brugmann *Gr. Gr.*⁴ 231.

generally accepted. Cf. Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1². 503 f., Edgerton *JAOS* 31. 97. Consequently it need detain us only to remark again (cf. sec. 2) that the development of adjectives designating an approximation to the primitive is easily explained from the notion of similarity, and that the occurrence of such adjectives in any individual language is therefore explained whenever their suffix can be connected with I.E. *-ko-*. The question now is whether the similar *-lo-* adjectives of the Latin can be explained in the same way as derived from the use of the same suffix to denote similarity either in I.E. or Latin times. It seems that the answer must be a negative one because the notion of similarity was certainly never a productive one for I.E. *-lo-*, if it existed at all, and because several distinct signs point to the I.E. substantival *-lo-* 'diminutives' as derived, not from the idea of similarity, but from appurtenance through the intermediate idea of descent.

7. In the first place, certain types point to the possibility of such a transition: cf. e.g. Gr. ἀρκτύλος 'what is descended from a bear (ἄρκτος),' 'a young bear,' 'a little bear'; Lat. *equulus* (: *equus*) 'what is descended from a horse, a young or little horse'; for proper names cf. e.g. Goth. *Wulfila*, according to Wrede¹ originally something like 'he who belongs to Wolfhart,' i.e. not Wolfhart himself, but one who belongs to him, or 'one who is descended from Wolfhart,' therefore 'young or little Wolfhart.' But possibility is not yet probability; for these same apparent transition types might have been merely offshoots of the idea of small size. A real proof, however, is found in the nature of the actually existing words of those languages or language stages in which *-lo-* had not yet become productive as a diminutive suffix, and which therefore would be less apt to show peculiar developments of their own. Thus the example Goth. *Wulfila* quoted above shows that the development of the diminutive notion from appurtenance and descent was easiest in proper names, and consequently these were most frequent in the early stages. As opposed to two or three appellatives in Sanskrit there are found a larger number of proper names like *Bhānula-s*: *Bhānu-datta-s* or *Çyāmala-s*: *çyāmā-s* 'black,' while in Greek the isolated ἀρκτύλος and possibly a few faded diminutives like κογχύλη : κόγχη are

¹ *Die Dim. im Deutsch.* 142.

contrasted with a host of "Kosenamen" like 'Ἡδύλος: Ἡδυ-χάρης and Ταξιλος: Ταξι-κλής and proper names from simple stems like Χοιρίλος Χοιρύλος. In the Germanic languages it was the same: only three appellative *-l-* diminutives in the Gothic as opposed to a larger number of names like *Wulfila*, *Attila*, *Totila*, *Tulgila*; and analogously in the other old Germanic dialects. Cf. Wrede *op. cit.* 133 f. And finally, I.E. languages which show no trace of *-lo-* in appellative diminutives do have it in proper names, so e.g. Gall. *Teutalus*: *Teuto-matus*, *Dumnolus*: *Dumno-riz*, O.Ir. *Tuathal*, Pruss. *Butil*, Serv. *Vukel*, *Božilo*: *Bogo-ljub*.

8. Since the idea of descent or origin will pass over into that of small size only in case of living beings, it is to be expected that diminutives originating in this way will at first be confined to words designating living beings; and conversely, when we find a diminutive suffix which is thus limited, the probability is that it originated in this way, so that we have another indication of the origin of I.E. diminutive *-lo-* in the fact that in three language groups even the appellative diminutives in *-lo-* are all words designating human beings or animals, at least in the earlier stages of the language. In Skr., *-lo-* is found in only two¹ appellative diminutives: *çizûla-s* 'little child': *çizu-s* 'child' and *vrşalâ-s* 'manikin': *vrşa-s* 'man.' In Greek the only certain appellative diminutive² ἀρκτύλος 'a young bear' is the name of an animal, and the three Gothic appellative diminutives are *barnilo* 'little child,' *mawilo* 'little girl,' and *magula* 'little boy.' These three words lead us to another point. They are used only in address, i.e. in situations in which endearment is prominent, whereas otherwise Greek diminutives are translated by Gothic non-diminutives. Cf. Polzin *Stud. zur Gesch. d. Dim. im*

¹ Possibly also *bandhula-s* 'bastard,' which may be a deteriorative of *bāndhu-s* 'relative,' should be added; but if so it is merely a third instance of a diminutive designating human beings. As to *çalākālā* 'little chip': *çalākā* 'chip,' quoted e.g. by Lindner *Ai. Nominalbild.* 145, Professor Oertel has called my attention to the fact that there is no evidence of the existence of such a word, and it seems to be due to a misprint of the Petersburg *Lexicon* for *çalākakā*, which is found in the passage quoted for the former.

² Probably, as is maintained by Dittenberger *IGS.* 690, ΠΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ (*ib.* 699-709): *παῖς* 'boy' and ΚΟΡΙΑΑΑ (*ib.* 713-22): *κόρη* 'girl' are appellative diminutives, serving as epitaphs for Boeotian children who died before being named. These would, however, merely strengthen the statement that even the early appellative diminutives were confined to designating living beings.

Deutsch. 1. In fact it seems as though the Germanic diminutive was always diminutive-hypocoristic in the beginning, while the deteriorative notion came later.¹ Similarly Gr. -υλο- is used in diminutive and hypocoristic meaning both in the substantives and in the adjectives quoted above, but deteriorative use is lacking. The hypocoristic use, moreover, is so prominent for the diminutives in Lith. -ėlis, as in fact for other Lith. diminutives also, that Jurkschat, *Lit. Märchen und Erzählungen* 102, considers "Lieblichkeitsendungen" as synonymous with "Diminutivendungen." This prevalence of hypocorism very likely comes from the diminutives with -l-, by far the most frequent group. For I.E. -lo- the prominence of hypocorism, which is also shown by the occurrence of the proper names, is easily explained by the fact that its diminutive meaning developed from its use to designate descent. A suffix meaning 'he who is descended from, son of, little' would naturally develop a feeling of endearment simultaneously with the diminutive notion: 'child of' would become 'dear little so-and-so.' The deteriorative use, however, could not thus arise, but had to be developed secondarily from the diminutives and hypocorisms, and so would come later in point of time. This behavior of -lo- is in marked contrast with suffixes in which the diminutive-deteriorative uses developed simultaneously from similarity, while the hypocoristic was secondary.² Thus Skr. -ka- showed the merest beginnings of a hypocoristic use in the Rigveda, whereas the diminutive and deteriorative functions were already at their height. Cf. Edgerton *JAOS* 31. 131 ff.

9. Accepting this exposition of the development of I.E. diminutive -lo-, we can now understand which uses were inherited by the Latin substantives and adjectives of that termination. The former were either true diminutives, i.e. they referred to small size, youth, and the like, or they were diminutive-hypocoristic or simply hypocoristic, whereas the deteriorative use must have developed after separation from the Indo-European, though it was easily developed from the diminutive and hypocoristic meanings without influence of other suffixes. The diminutive adjectives were of the second class,

¹ Cf. Polzin *op. cit.* 9.

² Cf. Petersen *op. cit.* 117 f., 132 ff., 169 f. for Gr. -ιωρ as an example of this development.

i.e. they originally denoted small size of or endearment for the person or object designated by the modified substantive, but could easily develop the deteriorative meaning also. On the other hand, the use of the suffix in adjectives called above 'diminutives of quality' was neither inherited from the Indo-European, nor do the I.E. uses show any probable way of developing them from the other adjectival diminutives, since the former class points to the suffix as an exponent of similarity, a use which *-lo-* did not have. The same is true of substantives like *capitulum* 'capital of a pillar': *caput* 'head,' in which the suffix is only an exponent of similarity, but not of small size.

10. Inheritance of the last two uses from the I.E. is, then, clearly impossible for the Lat. simple *-lo-* as well as for those conglutinates which arose in Latin by the coalescing of the suffix with a part of the stem of the primitive, i.e. for Lat. *-ulus*, *-ellus*, *-illus*, *-cellus*, *-cillus*,¹ and their corresponding feminines and neuters. But what shall we say of *-culus* *-a* *-um* and its conglutinates *-(i)usculus* and *-unculus*? If Brugmann² and others are right in assuming that the first part of *-culus* is I.E. *-ko-*, the uses of the Latin suffix to denote similarity in substantives, and in adjectives to express an approximation to the primitive adjective are certainly both inherited from the I.E. suffix, which either had those meanings itself or at least the roots of the same (sec. 2). On the other hand, *-culus* would be just like *-ellus* etc. if it rather arose by the same process of "clipping," e.g. by analyzing *lecticula* (: *lectica*) into *lecti-cula*, or *loquac-ulus* (: *loquax*) into *loqua-culus*.³

11. The answer to this question is somewhat difficult because whatever original semantic difference there was between *-lus* and *-culus* was almost entirely obscured by the complete semantic syncretism of the two suffixes, which resulted in a redistribution according to formal principles, so that we find in operation the rule recorded by Priscian *Gr.L.* 2. 102. 20 ff., that words of the first and second declension take *-ulo-*, and those of the third, fourth, and fifth *-ulo-*.

¹ Cf. Stolz *Hist. Gram.* 581 ff., for the origin of these conglutinates.

² *Gr.* 2. 12. 377, 675 f.

³ It is scarcely necessary to remark that I do not mean that these particular words could have been among the earliest pattern types of the conglutinate, since its occurrence in the Oscan-Umbrian shows that *-kelo-* was already 'uritalisch.'

If we are to find any traces of old semantic distinctions between the two suffixes, it must consequently be in those few words which do not follow Priscian's rule and at the same time are old enough to make it probable that they date back to a time when there still was a semantic distinction rather than that they were late analogical derailments. Examining these exceptions, we find that of the five Augustan or pre-Augustan¹ words which show *-culo-* from primitives of the first or second declension all, with the possible exception of *farticulum* 'sausage' (Titin.): *fartum* 'stuffings' in general, are words designating objects to which the primitive could not be properly applied and in which the suffix was consequently an exponent of similarity: *mammicula* 'man's breast' (Plautus): *mamma* 'female breast,' *feniculum* 'fennel' (Plautus): *fenum* 'hay,' *apriculus* 'a kind of fish' (Ennius): *aper* 'wild boar,' *puticuli* 'grave-pits' (Varro): *putus* = *puteus* 'ditch, well.' On the other hand, none of the following Plautine words in *-ulo-* from primitives of the third declension¹ shows any trace of the idea or similarity, but all were regular diminutives or hypocoristic words or deterioratives: *facula*:² *fax*, *meretricula*:² *meretrix*, *aetatula*: *aetas*, *capitulum*: *caput*, *nepotulus*: *nepos*, *adolescentulus* -a: *adolescens*, *blandiloquentulus*: *blandiloquens*, *valentulus*: *valens*. This trace of an original distinction thus points distinctly to *-culo-* as derived from I.E. *-ko-* by adding a diminutive suffix to already existing diminutives, as do also the fairly numerous adjectives in *-(i)usculus*, e.g. *meliusculus* 'somewhat better'; for not only do they often show that notion of an approximation to the primitive adjective which is so characteristic of *-ko-* (cf. secs. 50 ff.), but the formation of the suffix **-iuscus*, which must have been the original form of *-iusculus*, differs from I.E. *-isko-*, found e.g. in Gr. *νεανίσκος* or O.H.G. *altisc*, only by the vowel gradation of the first part of the conglutinate, showing the strong grade *-ios-* of the comparative suffix rather than the weak *-is-* of I.E. *-isko-*. Cf. Leo Meyer *KZ* 6. 381 f.; Brugmann *Gr.* 2. 1². 503. In one word we find a close correspondence between a Latin and a Germanic word, namely between the above-mentioned O.H.G. *altisc*: *alt* 'old' and Lat. *altiusculus*: *altus* 'high'.³ Would

¹ Cf. Stolz *op. cit.* 577 f.

² As was pointed out by Stolz *loc. cit.*, *-culo-* was at first avoided in words whose primitive ended in *-c-*, which would have caused an ill-sounding repetition.

³ Similarly *tenuiculus* looks as though it might have some connection with Skr. *tanuká-s* 'thin.'

it be too much to assume that these go back to a common original, or were both formed independently?

12. For the Latin adjectival diminutives we can now draw the following conclusions: Those in *-(u)lus*, *-ellus*, etc. inherited from the parent language only those uses in which their diminutive ending referred to the noun modified, primarily with the notion of small size or endearment, but secondarily also in a deteriorative way. Those in *-culus* inherited on the one hand the very same uses, with the exception that the deteriorative use was no doubt developed earlier (sec. 8), but in addition the same suffix from the beginning formed adjectives designating an approximation to the primitive adjective. When Lat. *-(u)lus* is used in this sense, this must be due either to the complete prehistoric semantic syncretism with *-culus*, or else there was some way by which the 'diminutives by enallage' on their own accord developed into 'diminutives of quality.' Which of the two assumptions is correct can be decided only after a detailed examination of the actual uses of the Latin 'diminutive' adjectives.

13. In our presentation of the history of these adjectives it will not be necessary to separate those in *-culus* from those in *-(u)lus*, because, as we have seen, they do not differ semantically, but only as to the type of declension of their primitives. We must, however, except those in *-iusculus*, since the comparative notion of the *-ius-* is a complicating factor which may influence also the diminutive part of the suffix.

14. My material consists chiefly of words gathered from Harper's *Latin Dictionary*. Only such words are used as still distinctly show the principle of adjectival diminution, whereas diminutives of substantivized adjectives, since they do not differ in principle from diminutives of original substantives, are omitted. So e.g. *aenulum*¹ (Paul. *Fest.* p. 28 Müll.) 'a small bronze vessel' is merely a substantive diminutive of the substantivized neuter adjective *aenum*, which itself designates a bronze vessel. Under each word again only the most characteristic passages are quoted, and those which clearly show indications of the way in which they were felt. Adverbs

¹ Similarly *adulescentulus*: *adulescens* 'young man' and *infantulus*: *infans* 'infant,' without thought of the original adjectival use of the primitives.

derived from adjectival diminutives are quoted only when there is no corresponding adjective in existence or when they contribute some point not made clear by the adjectives themselves.

III. ADJECTIVAL DIMINUTIVES PROPER

15. I mean by this those cases in which the diminutive suffix denotes small size or quantity, both literally and in a figurative way,¹ and related notions like youth or weakness. The adjectives of this kind fall into four groups differing according to the nature of the primitive and the consequent effect of the diminutive suffix.

1. *The Primitive Adjective Denotes an Indeterminate Size or Quantity*

16. As was pointed out in sec. 3, the transfer of a true diminutive suffix to an adjective is easiest and most natural in adjectives expressing an indeterminate size or quantity, which by addition of the diminutive suffix become limited to small size or quantity. This class consists of the derivatives of *tantus* 'so large' and *quantus* 'how large, how much': ***tantulus*** 'so little, so small': Plaut. *Bacch.* 2. 2. 31 *non tantulum Umquam intermittit tempus quin eum nominet*; Cic. *Sen.* 15. 52 *quae ex fici tantulo grano . . . tantos truncos ramosque procreet*; Caes. *B.G.* 2. 30 *homines tantulae staturae* (the Gauls contemptuously of the Romans); *id. ib.* 4. 22 *neque has tantularum rerum occupationes Britanniae anteponendas judicabat*. Similarly ***tantillus***: Plaut. *Poen.* 1. 2. 66 *Monstrum mulieris, tantilla tanta verba funditat*; *id. Truc.* 2. 7. 58 *tun tantilli doni caussa, Holerum atque escarum et poscarum, moechum . . . amas, hominem non nauci?* Ter. *Ad.* 4. 2. 24 *Quem ego modum puerum tantillum in manibus gestavi meis*. ***quantulus*** 'how little, how slight': Lucr. 3. 378 *Quantula prima queant nobis injecta ciere Corpora sensiferos motus in corpore*; Cic. *Ac.* 2. 26. 82 *Quid potest esse sole maius? . . . quantulus nobis videtur!* Similarly ***quantillus***: Plaut. *Poen.* 5. 3. 48 *Quantae (sc. meae filiae) e quantillis jam sunt factae!* *id.*

¹ The distinction between 'small' in a literal and a figurative sense as well as other more minute distinctions as to the exact shading of the diminutive meaning is neglected below to a large extent because these distinctions depend mostly on the nature of the substantive modified rather than on the diminutive adjective, and thus are of no importance for the history of the latter. I mean such minutiae as whether the diminutive idea implies smallness in length or area or bulk or quantity or number, or whether it is applied to the notion of time or abstract words, and the like. Only the comparatively important uses of diminutives to express youth or weakness are recognized below.

Truc. 2. 8. 7 *Quantillo mi opere nunc persuaderi potest. quantulus-cumque* 'however small': Cic. *De Or.* 1. 30. 135 *de hac mea, quantula-cumqua est, facultate quaeritis*; Juv. 13. 183 *Quantulacumque adeo est occasio sufficit irae. quantulus-quisque* 'how small soever': Gell. praef. 24 *cum ipsius vitae, quantuliquique fuerunt, progressibus. aliquantulus* 'little, small': *aliquantus* 'somewhat, some': Hirt. *Bell. Afr.* 21 *aliquantulus frumenti numerus*. Only as a neuter substantive occurs *aliquantillum* (Plaut. *Capt.* 1. 2. 28) 'a little bit.'

2. *The Primitive Adjective Itself Means 'Small,' 'Young,' or 'Weak'*

17. Another group of adjectives which easily takes a true diminutive suffix consists of those which themselves mean 'small.' The diminutive then differs from the primitive only by emphasizing the notion of small size, and the occurrence of such an adjective meaning 'somewhat small' is unknown. This is shown on the one hand by passages (examples below) in which the contrast between 'large' and 'small' would lose its effect by translating the diminutive adjective 'somewhat small' rather than 'very small,' on the other hand by the occurrence of the words *per-parvulus*, *per-pauculus*, and *per-pusillus*, in which the prefix *per-* 'very' could not be harmonized with a suffix meaning 'somewhat small.'

18. Three adjectives of this kind end in *-culus*: **breviculus**: *brevis* 'short': Plaut. *Merc.* 3. 4. 54 *breviculum* (sc. *hominem*); Fronto *Eloqu. coturnicum potius pinnis breviculis quam aquilarum maiestate volitare*; App. *M.* 6. 25 *ne breviculo quidem tempore. macriculus*: *macer* 'lean': Varro *L.L.* 8. 40 sec. 79. **tenuiculus**: *tenuis* 'slight, poor': Cic. *Fam.* 9. 19. 1 *tenuiculo apparatu significas Balbum fuisse contentum*. In *-lo-* and its conglutinates are found: **macellus**: *macer* 'lean': Lucil. *ap. Non.* 136. 32 *non magnus homo est, nasutus, macellus. minutulus: *minutus* 'very little': Plaut. *Poen.* 28 *pueros infantis minutulos. modicellus: *modicus* 'moderate-sized, little': Very doubtful Suet. *Ner.* 48 *modicella culcita. parvulus: *parvus* 'small': Ter. *Eun.* 3. 3. 18 *quae olim periit parvola Soror*; Cic. *Inv.* 2. 3. 10 *ne, dum parvulum hoc consequimur, . . . illud amitamus, quod maximum est; id. Rosc. Com.* 8. 23 *Et illa fuit pecunia immanis, haec parvula*; Lucr. 4. 193 *parvula causa . . . quae provehat atque propellat*; Hor. *S.* 1. 1. 33 *Parvola . . . magni****

formica laboris. **pauculus**: *paucus* 'few' (i.e. in the plural): Cato *ap. Front. Ep. ad Anton.* 1. 2 *inter pauculos amicos*; Plaut. *Ep.* 3. 4. 24 *verbis pauculis*; Cic. *Att.* 5. 21. 6 *pauculos dies*. In the singular, meaning 'little, short,' App. *M.* 11. 29 *pauculum tempus*. **paul-(l)ulus**: *paul(l)us* 'little, small': Plaut. *Bacch.* 4. 8. 24 *paullula pecunia*; Liv. 35. 11. 7 *Nihil primo adspectu contemptius. equi hominesque paululi et graciles*; *id.* 8. 11. 4 *pro paulula via magnam mercedem esse Romanis solvendam*. **pauxillus**:¹ *paulus* 'small': Plaut. *Poen.* 3. 1. 63; Lucr. 1. 835 *Ossa videlicet e pauxillis atque minutis Ossibus hic et de pauxillis atque minutis Visceribus viscus gigni*. Similarly **pauxillulus**: Plaut. *Ps.* 2. 4. 16 *libello . . . pauxillulo*; *id. Stich.* 1. 3. 10 *Ego non pauxillulum in utero gesto famem, Verum hercle multo maxumam et gravissumam*. **pusillus**: *pusus*, which was doubtless originally an adjective meaning 'small, insignificant': Cato *R.R.* 157. 10 *pueros pusillos*; Cic. *Att.* 5. 2. 2 *Habuimus in Cumano quasi pusillam Roman*; *id. Fam.* 2. 17. 7 *pusilli animi*. Similarly **pusillulus**: doubtful, Varro *ap. Non.* 2. 14. 25 *hi pusilluli nigri* (sc. *pueri*). **vesculus**: *vescus* 'small, weak': Festus p. 379 Müll. *vesculi male curati et graciles homines*. **perparvulus**: *perparvus* 'very small': Cic. *Verr.* 2. 4. 43 *Duo tamen sigilla perparvola tollunt*. **perpauculi**: *perpauci* 'very few': Cic. *Legg.* 1. 21. 54 *deduxitque in Academiam perpauculis passibus*. **perpusillus** 'very small': Cic. *De Or.* 2. 60. 245. Two similar words occur only as substantivized neuters: **perpaullulum**² (Cic. *De Or.* 2. 35. 150) and **perpauxillum** (Plaut. *Capt.* 1. 2. 68). A faded diminutive belonging to this group is **ullus** 'anyone' < **oinolos*: *unus* 'one'.³ Cf. e.g. Plaut. *Capt.* 3. 4. 58 *Neque praeter te in Alide ullus servos istoc nominest*. As is shown by its predilection for negative sentences ('not even one'), *unus* as contrasted with higher numbers was felt as an adjective of small size, and its diminutive is consequently like *pauculi* 'few'.⁴ Finally should be mentioned the adverbs **commodule** and **commodulum** 'moderately': *commodus* 'moderate.' The former Plaut. *Stich.* 5. 4. 8 *Pro opibus nostris*

¹ For the relation of *pauxillus* to *paucus* and *paulus* cf. Walde *Lat. Etym. Wörterb.* s.v.

² The variant reading *parpaulum* also occurs in the passage cited.

³ Cf. Walde *op. cit.* s.v.

⁴ Cf. the Lith. *vėnulei*, sec. 4.

satis commodule nucibus, fabulis, ficulis; Arn. 2. 18 *fortuita conspiciens quaedam commodule provenire*. The latter Plaut. Mil. 3. 1. 153 *Commodulum opsona, ne magno sumptu*.

19. Since youth and small size often go together, and all true diminutive suffixes consequently often mean 'young,' the addition of a diminutive suffix to an adjective which itself conveys the notion of youth is identical in principle with its addition to words meaning 'small,' and the same can be said of the emphasizing of the notion of weakness by a diminutive suffix, since weakness is often caused by small size or youth and intimately associated with these ideas. Of diminutives of adjectives meaning 'young' there are the following examples: **juvenculus**: *juvencus* 'young': Ambros. *De Tob.* sec. 25 *quasi bos juvenculus praedonis impetum reformidat*; Vulg. Ps. 67:26 *in medio juvencularum tympanistiarum*. **novellus**: *novus* 'new, young': Varr. *R.R.* 2. 3. 1 *novella enim* (sc. *capella*) *quam vetus utilior*; Cic. *Fin.* 5. 14. 39 *dicimus arboremque et novellam et vetulam, et vigere et senescere*; Ov. *P.* 4. 12. 24 *Cum regerem tenera frena novella manu*; Mos. et Rom. *Leg. Coll.* 15. 3. 3 *novellas et inauditas sectas veteribus religionibus opponere*. **bimulus**: *bimus* 'two winters old': Cat. 17. 13 *nec sapit pueri instar Bimuli*; Suet. *Calig.* 8 fin. (diminutive notion faded) *prope bimulus demum*. **trimulus**: *trimus* 'three winters old': Suet. *Ner.* 6. 3 *Trimulus patrem amisit*; Front. *Ep. ad Verr.* 9 *nepotem trimulum amisit*. **quadrimumus**: *quadrimus* 'four winters old': Plaut. *Capt.* 5. 3. 4 *nam tibi quadrimumum Tuos pater peculiarem parvolum puero dedit*; id *Poen.* prol. 85 *duae fuere filiae, Altera quinquennis, altera quadrimumula*. In the same category as these words comes the Plautine **primulus**: *primus* 'first,' in the sense of 'earliest': Cf. Plaut. *Am.* 2. 2. 107 *primulo diluculo abiisti*. Oftener the adverb **primulum**: e.g. Plaut. *Men.* 5. 5. 18 *Jam hercle occiepat insanire primulum*.

20. The connection of weakness with small size is clear when one and the same diminutive sometimes refers to small size, sometimes to weakness. Thus **parvulus**, usually 'small,' means 'weak': Plaut. *Pseud.* 3. 1. 17 *ehu, quam illae rei ego etiam nunc sum parvulus!* Similarly **quantulus** 'how small' is 'how weak': Juv. 10. 173 *mors sola fatetur, Quantula sint hominum corpuscula*. When the primitive of an adjectival diminutive of weakness never refers to small

size we cannot usually be certain whether the derivative is a real diminutive or deteriorative or hypocoristic word or combines the diminutive notion with either of the two latter. Weakness on the one hand may cause pity, which is a mood that often gives rise to a hypocorism, and on the other hand may cause contempt. Evidently without emotional value is the diminutive *inerticulus*: *iners* 'weak' as applied to a certain vine because it produced a wine that was weak in the sense that it did not intoxicate. Cf. Col. 3. 2. 24 and Plin. 14. 2. 4. 31. In the following four words there is a possibility of a hypocoristic element: *fessulus*: *fessus* 'wearied': App. *Anech.* 19 *anima fessula*. *lassulus*: *lassus* 'wearied': Cat. 63.35 *ut domum Cybelles tetigere lassulae, Nimio e labore somnium capiunt sine Cerere*. *pallidulus*: *pallidus* 'pale': Cat. 65. 6 *Namque mei nuper Lethaeo gurgite fretus Pallidulum manans alluit unda pedem*; Juv. 10. 82 *pallidulus mi Bruttidius meus ad Martis fuit obivus aram*. *pauperculus*: *pauper* 'poor':¹ Plaut. *Poen.* 3. 1. 33 *quamquam sumus pauperculi, Est domi quod edimus*; Varro *R.R.* 1. 17 *aut cum ipsi colunt (sc. agros), ut plerique pauperculi cum sua progenie*; Hor. *Ep.* 1. 17. 46 *Indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater*.

3. The Primitive Adjective Denotes a Large Size or Quantity

21. When a diminutive suffix is added to an adjective meaning 'large,' the result is an adjective meaning 'rather large, somewhat large'; e.g. *longulum iter* is originally 'a long journey which is small' or 'a rather long journey.' Similarly *vetusculus*, a diminutive of *vetus* 'old,' means 'old, but younger than the ordinary old,' or 'somewhat old,' and the adverb *saepiculae*: *saepe* 'often' denotes an often that inclines to its opposite, or is equivalent to 'somewhat often.'

22. It is thus seen that in words meaning 'large,' 'old,' 'often,' etc. true diminutives may develop a meaning that is exactly like that in 'diminutives of quality' like *nigellus* 'blackish, somewhat black,' and the question arises whether e.g. the meaning 'somewhat long' in *longulus* is not to be put on the same footing as the type *nigellus*, which, as we have seen above, was derived from adjectives of similarity. The answer to this question certainly cannot be entirely a negative one; for when diminutives of quality had once become

¹ We might expect a deteriorative element, but I have found no clear indications of it in any occurrence, unless it be in the passage quoted from Varro.

productive there was no reason why they should not be formed from primitives meaning 'large' as well as from others. However, the preponderance of the evidence is for the origin assumed above.¹ The fact that there are no possible diminutives of quality from adjectives meaning 'small,' that e.g. *parvulus* is never 'somewhat small,' but rather 'very small,' would point to a diminutive origin of the opposites like *longulus* also. In the same direction points the Plautine (*Rud.* 1. 5. 9; *Men.* prol. 64) adverbial *hau longule*, which does not mean 'by no means somewhat far,' but rather 'by no means far.' The addition of the diminutive suffix is due to the fact that the whole phrase 'not far' implies a slight distance which can be properly emphasized by the suffix, just as *longulum iter* is a diminutive of the whole phrase *longum iter*.

23. Of the five words which certainly belong here two are pre-Augustan: **grandiculus** 'rather large, of moderate size': *grandis* (Plaut. *Poen.* 2. 35 *In fundas visci indebant grandiculos globos*) and **longulus** 'rather long': *longus* (Cic. *Att.* 16. 13 *Longulum sane iter et via mala*; Ter. Maur. 2729 *Forsan longula visa sit Haec divisio tertia Versus hendecasyllabi*). The following three words are post-Augustan: **procerulus** possibly 'rather long':² *procerus*: App. *Flor.* 2. 15 *manus eius tenera procerula laeva distantibus digitis nervos motitur*. **vetusculus**³ 'rather old': *vetus* 'old': Fronto *Eloqu.* frg. 3 *ut de vulgaribus elegantia, de contaminatis nova redderes, imaginem aliquam accomodares, figuram iniceres, prisco verbo adornares, colorem vetusculum adpingeres*; Sid. *Ep.* 8. 16 *non tantum dictio exossis tenera delumbis, quantum vetuscula torosa et quasi mascula placet*. **saepicule** (adverb) 'rather often': *saepe*: App. *M.* 2. 3 *Ego sum Byrrhaena illa, cuius forte saepicule nomen inter tuos educatores frequentatum retines*; *id. ib.* 9. 30 *illis saepicule et intervocaliter clamantibus nullus respondit dominus*. In the case of two other post-Augustan words we are in doubt whether they belong here or to 2.

¹ How differently these diminutives of adjectives of large size must have been felt from other diminutives of quality, is shown by their occurrence in languages which otherwise do not know the use of *-lo-* in this sense. Cf. e.g. the Gr. *παχυλός*: *παχύς* 'thick' and Lith. *didžulis*: *didis* 'large' (sec. 4).

² Possibly the force of the suffix is exclusively hypocoristic.

³ Possibly *vetulus*, from the same primitive, may mean 'rather old' Mart. 4. 20. 1 (*dicūt se vetulam cum sit Caerellia pupa*), though it seems much more like a pure determinative.

If e.g. **oblongulus** 'rather long' was formed by adding the diminutive suffix to *oblongus*, which because of its prefix itself meant 'rather long,' the force 'somewhat' has nothing to do with the suffix, but the latter merely emphasizes the diminutive notion of the primitive. If, on the other hand, it was formed by the addition of the prefix *ob-* to *longulus* 'rather long,' the force 'rather' comes from the suffix, and the prefix merely emphasizes it. This word occurs Gell. 17. 9. 7 *Surculi duo erant teretes, oblonguli*. Similar is **succrassulus** (Capitol. Gord. 6 *corporis qualitate succrassulus*) 'somewhat thick': *crassus*, only in this case I have not found *succrassus*.

4. *The Primitive Is an Adjective Other Than of Size or Quantity*

24. In this case the diminutive suffix merely adds the notion 'small' to the meaning of the primitive adjective, e.g. *eburneola fistula* is 'a little ivory pitch-pipe.' There are enough certain examples of the diminutive adjective thus referring to the size of the noun modified to make unwarranted the ridicule of G. Müller *De ling. lat. dim.* 59 against Schwabe for holding this view, though of course it does not follow that all adjectival diminutives are to be interpreted in this way.

25. A group of six adjectives of this type consists of derivatives of adjectives of material in *-eus*: **aeneolus**: *aeneus* 'of bronze': Petr. 73 *ita ut supra lucernas aeneolosque piscatores notaverim et mensas totas argenteas*. **argenteolus**: *argenteus* 'of silver': Plaut. *Rud.* 4. 4. 125 *sicilicula argenteola*. **aureolus**: *aureus* 'golden': *id. Ep.* 5. 1. 34 *anelum aureolum in digitum*. **corneolus**: *corneus* 'of horn': Afran. Com. 224 *bacillum delicatum Corneolum*;¹ Cic. *N.D.* 2. 57. 144 *Sed duros et quasi corneolos habent introitus (sc. aures)*. **eburneolus**: *eburneus* 'of ivory': Cic. *De Or.* 3. 60. 225 *eburneola . . . fistula*. **ligneolus**: *ligneus* 'wooden': Lucil. *ap. Prisc.* 3. 44 *scutam Ligneolam in cerebro infixit*; Cic. *Qu. Fr.* 3. 7 *scripsi . . . ad lychnuchum ligneolum*,¹ *qui mihi erat perjucundus*; App. *De Mundo* 27 (of puppets) *illi qui in ligneolis hominum figuris gestus movent*.

26. Other adjectives of this kind follow in alphabetical order. **acutulus**: *acutus* 'pointed': Cic. *N.D.* 3. 7. 18 *Zenonisque brevis et acutulas conclusiones*. **albus**: *albus* 'white': Varro *R.R.* 3. 14. 4 *minutae albulae (sc. cochleae)*. **gemellus**: *geminus* 'twin-born,

¹ Possibly with a hypocoristic shade.

double,' while often faded, probably shows the original diminutive force when applied to infants or small objects: e.g. Ov. *M.* 9. 453 *prolem est enixa gemellam*; id. *H.* 6. 143 *fetu comitante gemello*; Plin. 14. 2. 4 sec. 21 *gemellarum, quibus hoc nomen uae semper geminae dedere, asperrimus sapor*. **Graeculus**: *Graecus* 'Greek': Flor. 4. 2. 24 *Graecula civitas* (of Massilia). **imulus**: *imus* 'lowest': Cat. 25. 2 *imula oricilla*. **miniatus**: *miniatus* 'colored with red-lead or cinnabar': Cic. *Att.* 16. 11. 1 *cerulas* (a kind of crayon) *enim tuas miniatulas illas extimescebam*. **nigellus**: *niger* 'black': Varr. *ap. Non.* 456. 8 *oculis suppaetulis nigelli pupuli*; Aus. *Ep.* 4. 73 *Cadmi nigellas filias* (i.e. the letters of the alphabet). **regaliolus**: *regalis* 'royal': Suet. *Caes.* 81 *avem regaliolum* (cf. the German *Zaunkönig*). **rubellulus**: *ruber* 'red': Mart. *Cap. poet.* 5 sec. 566 *umbilicum . . . rubellulum* (of a book). **satullus**: *satur* 'satisfied': Varr. *R.R.* 2. 2. 15 *ut agni satulli fiant lacte*. **semiadopertulus**: **semiadopertus* 'half-closed': App. *M.* 3. 14 *oculos . . . semiadopertulos* (because the eyes look small when half-closed). **tumidulus**: *tumidus* 'swollen, timid': App. *Mag.* 6 *Complanatorem tumidulae gingivulae*.

27. It is evident that other diminutive ideas can be added by means of a diminutive suffix to a primitive adjective in exactly the same way as small size. Thus among the words just named *gemellus* owes its diminutive suffix no less to the youth of young twins than to their size. Only because of youth, with no reference to small size, is used **barbatulus**: *barbatus* 'bearded' in Hier. *Ep.* 117 n. 10 *adulescentem necdum bene barbatulum*.

IV. HYPOCORISTIC ADJECTIVES

28. The usual signification of hypocoristic adjectives is defined by G. Mueller, *op. cit.* 58, as follows: "Adjectiva ea, quibus grata et amabilis rei qualitas significatur, apud Latinos saepe ornatur forma deminutiva, quo magis insigniatur venustas, utque significetur, quanta voluptate eae qualitates animadvertantur." Mueller thus recognizes only those hypocoristic adjectives which were pointed out in sec. 3 as probably being the earliest, namely those in which the suffix may express endearment or admiration of beauty, neatness, etc., i.e. for the quality denoted by the primitive adjective as well as for the substantive modified by the diminutive, e.g. *mellitulus*: *mellitus*

'honey-sweet' or *pulchellus*: *pulcher* 'beautiful.' At other times, however, the admiration or endearment is just as plainly directed to the modified substantive only, since the primitive adjective designates a quality that cannot possibly be admired for its own sake, so e.g. *integellus*: *integer* 'safe' or *misellus*: *miser* 'unhappy.' It is rather the safe or unhappy person for whom the endearment is meant. This is particularly frequent when, as in the latter example, the motive for the use of the hypocoristic adjective is pity. This distinction, though historically important, is not, however, well fitted for a principle of classification because we too often do not know whether the admiration is expressed for the primitive adjective also or only for the modified substantive. Thus did Appuleius (*M.* 2. 7 *illa lepida . . . et dicacula puella*) mean to express admiration for the quality of talkativeness itself, or did he mean 'charmingly talkative,' or was he merely expressing endearment for the maiden with no regard to the adjective itself?

29. The examples will consequently rather be classified according to the more precise emotional value of the suffix, which varies between expressing admiration for neatness, beauty, etc. and expressing endearment prompted by pity or sympathy or endearment of the cheerful kind. The last mood cannot, however, be always sharply distinguished from the first,¹ since real endearment often proceeds from appreciation of beauty, at least in case of living beings.

1. *The Suffix Expresses Admiration for Neatness, Elegance, or Beauty*

30. Further refinements as to the more exact force of the suffix would be futile because these depend rather on the noun modified than on the adjective itself, and because (cf. sec. 3) the genetic relations of these minute shades of difference could not be traced in the adjectives themselves, since all the 'diminutival' uses of adjectives except those of 'diminutives of quality' were developed in substantives and subsequently transferred to the adjectives ready-made. The examples will consequently be arranged in alphabetical order. It is to be noticed that only passages are quoted in which the hypocoristic force is either the only one or distinctly dominant over the

¹ On the whole, endearment will be the emotion when the hypocoristic adjective refers to a person or something belonging to a person, though this will not be decisive in every instance.

diminutive, while examples of hypocorism subordinate to the notion of small size will be found in the chapter on diminutives.

31. *Collection of examples.*—**aureolus**: aureus 'golden': Cat. 2. 12 *aureolum . . . malum* ('apple'); Cic. Ac. 2. 44. 135 *est enim non magnus, verum aureolus . . . libellus*; id. N.D. 3. 17. 43 *in illa aureola oratiuncula*. **austerulus**: austerus 'austere': App. Flor. 4. 20 *Ego et alias crateras Athenis bibi: poeticae commentam, geometriae limpida, musicae dulcem, dialecticae austerulam*.¹ **candidulus**: candidus 'shining white': Cic. Tusc. 5. 16. 46 *haec, quae sunt minima, tamen bona dicantur necesse est: candiduli dentes, venusti oculi, color suavis*; Juv. 10. 355 *candiduli*² *divina tomacula porci*. **corneolus**: corneus 'horny': used figuratively of a vigorous old man: Petr. 43. 7 *sed corneolus fuit, aetatem bene ferebat, niger tanquam corvus*. **dicaculus**: dicax 'facetious, witty': App. M. 3. 13 *Non enim laeta facie nec sermone dicacula sed vultuosam frontem rugis insurgentibus adseverabat*. **floridulus**: floridus 'blooming, beautiful': Cat. 61. 186 *Uxor in thalamo tibi est Ore floridulo nitens*. **glabellus**: glaber 'without hair, smooth': App. M. 5. 22 *corpus glabellum atque luculentum et quale peperisse Venerem non poeniteret*; id. Flor. 1. 3 *quod Apollo esset et coma intonsus et genis gratus et corpore glabellus et arte multiscius et fortuna opulentus*. **igneolus**: igneus 'fiery': Prud. Cath. 3. 186 *Oris opus vigor igneolus Non moritur*. **lacteolus**: lacteus 'milky-white': Aus. Ep. 7. 46 *Carnem lacteoli*² *visceris*; Prud. στεφ. 11. 245 *cum lacteolis caulas compleveris agnis*. **lepidulus**: lepidus 'witty, clever': Mart. Cap. 7 sec. 726 *ne infacetus tamen et impar lepidulis haberetur*; id. 8 sec. 807 *tam tristibus asperisque Saturae alioquin lepidulae verberibus demulcatus*. **limatulus**: limatus 'polished, filed': Cic. Fam. 7. 33. 2 *Opus est huc limatulo et polito tuo iudicio*. **linguatulus**: linguatus 'gifted with the tongue, eloquent': Tert. Ad Nat. 1. 8. **lin-teolus**: linteus 'linen': Prud. στεφ. 3. 180 *Pallioli vice linteoli*. **mulleolus**: mulleus³ 'reddish': Tert. Pall. 4

¹ Possibly the addition of a hypocoristic suffix to an adjective which ordinarily would suggest the opposite emotion resulted in an interpretation 'somewhat austere,' similar to that of the diminutives of secs. 21 ff.

² In these words the hypocoristic suffix expresses that notion of deliciousness of articles of food and drink which was so common for Greek substantive diminutives in -ιον, for which cf. Petersen *op. cit.* 141 ff., 171 ff. Similarly *vetulus* below as applied to wine.

³ Found only with *calceus*.

fin. *impuro cruri purum aut mulleolum inducit calceum*. **mundule** (adverb): *mundus* 'neat, nice': App. *M.* 2. 7 *Ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta*. **myrteolus**: *myrteus* 'of the color of myrtle blossoms': Col. poet. 10. 238 *Myrteolo modo crine viret* (sc. *cinara*). **obunctulus**: *obunctus* 'anointed': Titin. ap. Non. 536. 18 *Tunica et togula obunctula Adimetur, pannos possidebit fetidos*. **perlucidulus**: *perlucidus* 'bright, shining': Cat. 69. 4 *perluciduli deliciis lapidis*. **pressulus** 'nicely pressed': *pressus*: App. *Flor.* 1. 9 *praedicavit fabricatum semet sibi ampullam quoque oleariam quam gestabat, lenticulari forma, tereti ambitu, pressula rotunditate*. **pulchellus**: *pulcher* 'beautiful': Cic. *Fam.* 7. 23. 2 *Bacchis* ('statues of Bacchus') *vero ubi est apud me locus? At pulchellae sunt*. **ravulus** probably 'charmingly hoarse': *ravus*: Sid. 9. 13 *Date ravulos choraulas, Quibus antra per palati Crepulis reflanda buccis Gemit aura tibialis*. **regillus**: *regius* 'royal': Plaut. *Ep.* 2. 2. 42 *an regillam induculam an mendiculam?* Varro ap. Non. 539. 10 *regillam tunicam*. **scitule** (adverb): *scitus* 'neat, elegant': App. *M.* 2. 19 *scitule ministrare pueri calamistrati*. **succinctulus**: *succinctus* 'girded': App. *M.* 2. 7 *russea fasciola . . . succinctula*. **tenellus**: *tener* 'delicate, tender': Varro *R.R.* 1. 45. 2 *venenum enim gelum radicibus tenellis*. **umidulus**: *umidus* 'moist': Ov. *A.A.* 3. 629 *umiduli quae fiet acumine lini*. **venustulus**: *venustus* 'charming, delightful': Plaut. *As.* 1. 3. 70 *oratione vinnula, venustula*; Aus. *Ep. Idyll.* 4. praem. *venustula ut essent* (his writings) *magis quam forticula*. **vetulus**:¹ *vetus* 'old,' when used of wine: Cat. 27. 1 *Minister vetuli puer Falerni*; Mart. 13. 112. 2 *Exigua* (sc. *Setia*) *vetulos misit ab urbe cados*. **vitreolus**: *vitreus* 'of glass': Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 26. 413, where Georges translates 'gar fein gläsern.'

To these must be added the following three adjectives in *-culo-*: **dulciculus**: *dulcis* 'sweet': Cic. *Tusc.* 3. 19. 46 *scutellam dulciculae potionis aliquid videamus et cibi*. **forticulus**: *fortis* 'strong': Aus., see sub *venustulus*. According to Mueller also App. *M.* 8. 24 *ille Cappadocem me et satis forticulum denuntiat*. **molliculus**: *mollis* 'soft, pleasant': Plaut. *Cas.* 2. 8. 56 *opsona . . . Molliculas escas, ut ipsa mollicula est*; Cat. 16. 4 *ex versiculis meis . . . Quod sunt molliculi*. Cf. also the adverb **blandicule**: *blandus* 'flattering,

¹ Cf. *candidulus* and *lacteolus* above.

courteous': App. M. 10. 27 *blandiculae respondit et omnia prolixè accumulataque pollicetur*. Perhaps **clanculum** 'secretely,' used in Plautus and Terence without apparent distinction from its primitive *clam*, owes its suffix to the notion of neatness which might be connected with that of secrecy, e.g. Plaut. Cas. 2. 8. 8 *Captandus horum clanculum sermo mihi*.

2. The Suffix Expresses Endearment Prompted by Pity or Sympathy

32. As was pointed out in sec. 20, these 'diminutives of pity' no doubt partially developed from diminutives of weakness, and therefore cannot always be distinguished. Examples given there will not be repeated here. Others follow in alphabetical order:

frigidulus: *frigidus* 'cold, feeble': Verg. Cir. 251 *Frigidulam injecta circumdat veste puellam*; ib. 348 *Frigidulos cubito subnixa pendit ocellos*; Cat. 64. 131 *haec extremis maestam dixisse querellis. Frigidulos udo singultus ore cientem*. **gemellus**: *geminus* 'twin-born': Ov. H. 8. 77 *Flebat avus Phoebeque soror, fratresque gemelli*. **misellus**: *miser* 'unhappy': ib. 3. 16 (to a dead sparrow) *miselle passer*; Cic. Att. 3. 23. 5 *meum Ciceronem quod nihil misello relinquo praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei, tueare quoad poteris*; id. Fam. 14. 4. 3 *illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est*. **miserula**: *miser* 'unhappy': Ser. ap. Non. 517. 4 *Animula miserula properiter abiit*. **nudulus**: *nudus* 'naked, bare': Hadr. Carm. ap. Spart. Hadr. 25 *Animula vagula blandula, Hospes comesque corporis, Quae nunc abibis in loca, Pallidula rigida nudula, Nec ut soles dabis jocos*! **pallidulus**: *pallidus* 'pale.' See *nudulus*. **placidulus**: *placidus* 'quiet, still.' Of the ashes of a deceased friend: Aus. Parent. 27 *Cinis ut placidula supera vigeat*. **tabidulus**: *tabidus* 'consuming': Verg. Cir. 182 *Tabidulamque videt labi per viscera mortem*. **turgidulus**: *turgidus* 'swollen': Cat. 3. 18 *meae puellae Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli*. **vagulus**: *vagus* 'wandering.' See *nudulus*.

In *-culo-* occurs **tristiculus**: *tristis* 'sad': Cic. Div. 1. 46. 103 *filiolam suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, osculans animadvertit tristiculam*. 'Quid est,' inquit, 'mea Tertia? quid tristis es?'

33. In some cases the feeling of pity or even unhappiness seems to have caused the addition of a diminutive suffix without depending

on endearment, so that we may then with propriety speak of 'diminutives' of pity. Most evidently endearment is absent when the diminutive refers to the speaker or something belonging to the speaker. So **tristiculus**: Marc. Aur. *ap. Fronto* Ep. 3. 17 *nihilominus animus meus pavet et tristiculus est, ne quid hodie in senatu dixerim, propter quod te magistrum habere non merear*. Similarly **uvidulus**: *uvidus* 'moist': Cat. 66. 63 *Uvidulam a fletu cedentem ad templa deum me Sidus in antiquis diva novum posuit*. Also without endearment is used **misellus**: Lucr. 4. 1096 *quae vento spes raptast saepe misella*; Tert. *Test. An.* 4 *cum alicuius defuncti recordaris, misellum vocas eum*; Juv. 13. 213 *vina misellus Exspuit*.

3. The Suffix Expresses Endearment of Cheerful Moods

34. In the large majority of examples the hypocoristic adjective modifies a substantive designating a person (rarely a pet animal), since endearment is primarily felt for living beings. In other cases the noun modified designates something belonging to a person, particularly a part of the body, since these share the affection felt for the person himself. Examples of both are given together:

argutulus: *argutus* 'talkative': App. M. 2. 6 *Nam et forma scitula et moribus ludicra et prorsus argutula est*. **aureolus**: *aureus* 'golden': Cat. 61. 160 *Transfer omine cum bono Limen aureolos pedes*. **bellatulus** as if: **bellatus* = *bellus* 'pretty, charming': Plaut. *Cas.* 4. 4. 28 *i belle bellatula*. **bellulus**: *bellus*:¹ *ib.* 4. 4. 32 *Edepol papillam bellulam*; Insc. Murat. (from Mueller) *bellule cresce puer*. **blandulus**: *blandus* 'pleasing, charming': Hadr. see sec. 33 sub *nudulus*. **dicaculus**: *dicax* 'talkative, facetious': App. M. 2. 7 *illa lepida . . . et dicacula puella*. **exornatulus**: *exornatus* 'decked out, adorned': Plaut. *Cist.* 306 *mulierculam exornatulam*. **hilarulus**: *hilaris* 'cheerful': Cic. *Att.* 16. 11. 8 *Atticae, quoniam . . . hilarula est, meis verbis suavius des*. **horridulus**: *horridus* 'projecting': Plaut. *Ps.* 1. 1. 68 *Papillarum horridularum oppresiunculae*. **inscitulus**: *inscitus* 'ignorant': Afran. *ap. Non.* 12. 21 *Novi non inscitulam*²

¹ The primitive *bellus* is itself a similar faded diminutive of *bonus*, which means 'good' in any sense. Cf. Stolz *Hist. Gram.* 581.

² In as far as the suffix refers to the adjective itself *non inscitulam* must be considered a hypocorism of the whole idea of *non inscitam*, in as much as the unnegated adjective would rather inspire the opposite emotion.

Ancillulam. integellus: integer 'safe, uninjured': Cat. 15. 4 *Quod castum expeteres et integellum. lacteolus*: lacteus 'milk-white': ib. 55. 17 *Num te lacteolae tenent puellae? lascivulus*: lascivus 'wanton': Laev. ap. Prisc. 10. 47 manu *Lascivola ac tenellula. marcidulus*: marcidus 'drooping': Mart. Cap. 7 sec. 727 *marcidulis decenter paeta luminibus. mellitulus*: mellitus 'honey-sweet': Plaut. Cas. 4. 4. 27 *O Corpusculum mellitulum!*¹ *Mea uxorcule—quae res?* Hier. Ep. 79. 6 *Ita suavis est et mellitula ut honor sit omnium propinquarum. nitidulus*: nitidus 'spruce, trim': Sulp. Sev. Dial. 2. 8. 3 *vidua nitidula. pulchellus*: pulcher 'beautiful': App. M. 8. 26 *Puellae, servum vobis pulcellum*² *perduxi. scitulus*: scitus 'pretty, elegant': Plaut. Rud. 2. 7. 7 *qua sunt facie?* SC. *scitula. ib. 4. 1. 3 jam clientas repperi, Atque ambas forma scitula atque aetatula*; App. M. 3. 15 *scitulae formulae juvenem quempiam libenter aspexit. succinctulus*: succinctus 'girded': ib. 2. 7 *Ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta, et russea fasciola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula illud cibarium vasculum floridis palmulis rotabat in circulum. tenellulus*: tener 'tender': Cat. 17. 15 *puella tenellulo delicatior haedo*; also Laev., see sub *lascivulus. tenellus*: tener: Plaut. Cas. 1. 20 *Bellam et tenellam Casinam*; Stat. Silv. 5. 5. 86 *Cui nomen vox prima meum ludusque tenello Risus. umidulus*: umidus 'moist': Aus. Epigr. 106. 4 *Ut complexa manu madidos salis aequore crines Humidulis spumas stringit utraque comis. valentulus*: valens 'strong, stout': Plaut. Cas. 4. 4. 36 *opsecro, ut valentulast! Paene exposivit cubito. vetulus*: vetus 'old': Cic. Fam. 7. 16. 1 *In 'Equo Trojano' scis esse in extremo: 'sero sapiunt.' Tu tamen, mi vetule, non sero.*

The following three words end in *-culo-*: *dulciculus*: dulcis 'sweet': Plaut. Poen. 1. 2. 183 *huius dulciculus caseus* (as a term of endearment). Similarly *molliculus*: mollis 'soft': ib. 160 *meus molliculus caseus. pinguculus*: pinguis 'fat': Fronto Ep. ad M. Caes. 4. 12 *manus parvulas plantasque illas pinguculas tum libentius exosculabor quam tuas cervices.*

35. Sometimes a hypocoristic adjective owes its suffix not to endearment for a person designated by the modified substantive nor for a person to whom something designated by such a substantive

¹ The text is doubtful. The 'recensio Palatina' had *melliculum*.

² Of the metamorphosed ass, therefore with an ironical tinge.

belongs, but rather to the general hypocoristic mood of the whole passage. Endearment is indeed the cause, but endearment for something not immediately related to the 'diminutive,' i.e. the latter is used because the mind is so full of the emotion that it spreads it out over the whole passage and may add a hypocoristic suffix to any word capable of taking it. This 'enallage of diminution'¹ is of course the same in principle as that by which an adjective gets a suffix that belongs to the modified substantive or by which one substantive gets a suffix belonging to another. Thus are to be explained the following adjectives: **curiosulus**: *curiosus* 'curious, inquisitive': App. *M.* 10. 31 *Quam quidem laciniam curiosulus ventus satis amanter nunc lasciviens reflabat, ut dimota pateret flos aetatulae, nunc luxurians aspirabat.* **languidulus**: *languidus* 'languid': Cat. 64. 332 *Languidulosque paret (sc. conjunx) tecum conjungere somnos.* **tacitulus**: *tacitus* 'silent': Varr. *ap. Non.* 47. 27 *Novos maritus tacitulus taxim uxoris solvebat cingillum.*

Such enallage also sometimes causes the use of hypocoristic adverbs, so e.g. **mundule**: *mundus* 'neat': App. *M.* 2. 7 *Ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta.* **pressule**: *pressus* 'pressed': App. *M.* 4. 31. *osculis hiantibus filium diu et pressule saviata; ib.* 10. 31 *ut adhaerens (sc. ventus) pressule membrorum voluptatem graphice liciniaret.*

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[To be continued]

¹ This term comes from Skutsch *ALL* 15. 37.